The Farmer Faces the Future

The Southern PATRIOT

Volume 3 | Nashville, Tennessee, August, 1945 | No. 8

The South Needs Prosperous Farmers; Wartime Progress Must Go Forward . . .

At this moment, as we turn from war to face the problems of peace, we are all determined to win a better life for ourselves in the South, if only for the sake of the millions of young Southern men, now returning from the battlefields to their farms.

We must solve the age-old problems of Southern agriculture. Over forty percent of the Southern people live on farms. Most of them are poor. We must find the answers if the WHOLE South is to prosper.

Southern farmers have given distinguished service to their country during the war. Their labor helped produce the abundance needed to defeat fascism.

The nation needed overwhelming supplies of food—for our soldiers, our hard-pressed allies, our civilian population, all working overtime and hungry. The nation needed cotton: the Army found uses for over 11,000 different items made of cotton, from life rafts to self-sealing gasoline tanks. Southern farmers, white and Negro, overcame obstacles of labor and machinery shortage to break all past production records.

The war has begun to change the Southern countryside. Where cotton and tobacco once dominated the land, peanuts, soybeans, sweet potatoes, vegetables and fruit and livestock are beginning to flourish. The volume of food production even in 1942 was 17% higher than in 1935-39. The South is coming closer than ever before to feeding its own people, as well as supplying food for the Armed Forces and lend-lease. And millions of acres of land are getting a rest from the old soil-wasting crops.

With the war, millions of people left the farms—for the Army and Navy, and for the new war industries both in the South and in the rest of the Nation. In the three years 1939 through 1941, alone, over two and a half million persons left Southern farms. Southern farm families now have more breathing space on the land. Production is rising.

Finally and most important, the Southern farmer is now enjoying a greater measure of prosperity than at any time since the 1920s. Wage rates for hired workers on Southern farms have also steadily increased.

The farmers' ten years of achievement under the New Deal had prepared the way for all these changes, which were speeded up during the war.

In the Southeastern states, the years 1930 to 1940 saw a 44% reduction in cotton acreage; and corresponding increases in other crops: hay 111%, oats 193%, wheat 45%, potatoes 40%, an increase in the number of hogs and pigs 45%, cattle 30% and milk production 30%.

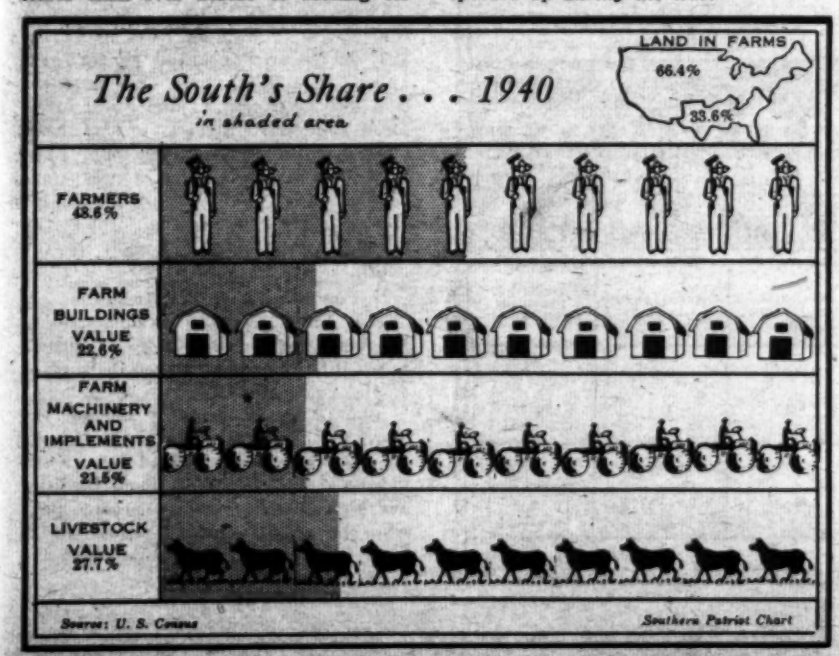
During the same period, there was a 17.3% jump in the average size of farms in the Southeast.

The New Deal farm programs also reduced the number of tenant farmers 17.4% and the number of farm owners in the Southeast increased 9.5%.

The farmers won these gains with the assistance of the New Deal farm agencies—the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Farm Security Administration, the Farm Credit Administration and the Soil Conservation Service, together with the hard work of the county and home demonstration agents and the extension services of the land grant colleges. The Southern farmer today is in far better shape than he has ever been in the past.

WE MUST NOT GO BACK to the days of acute poverty and want. Too many farmers still live in shacks, too many farmers' children die.

WE MUST GO FORWARD, to a high standard of living for Southern farmers and for the South.



The Farmers . . .

In spite of the progress of Southern agriculture during the past decade, these facts remain:

—**The South has one-half the Nation's farmers, one-third of its land, but only one-fourth of its farm income.**

—**The farms of the South are the smallest in the nation. Over one-fourth of Southern farms are smaller than twenty acres.**

—**Despite its wealth of grasslands, the South lags in production of livestock with less than one-third of the nation's cattle. The average "census" farm in the Southeast in 1940 had less than two cows, thirty chickens and four hogs and pigs.**

—**In food and feed crops, the South has the lowest average yield per acre in the country.**

—**Six million acres of South farm lands are idle.**

What does this mean in the life of the Southern farmer?

Sub-Standard Income

First, his income. As you can see by the chart at the right, the total income per Southern farm worker is only half that of the worker outside the South, only a fourth of the Southern non-farm worker. The average Southern income is even further out of line than the chart indicates, because a much larger percentage of Southerners work in agriculture.

Tradition has it that income is not so important on the farm, that the farmer always has enough to eat and a comfortable place to live. Is this true?

Enough To Eat?

Malnutrition is widespread in Southern rural areas. On many thousands of farms, especially tenant farms, every available foot of ground is planted to cash crops—cotton and tobacco. The usual diet is the cheapest available—cornbread, salt pork and molasses.

There are other causes as well for this poor diet: lack of refrigeration and lack of kitchen equipment necessary actually to cook and serve healthful meals. Many Southern farm kitchens have only a frying pan and an iron pot, and no stove that will bake. Lack of refrigeration means sour milk and loss of food.

An exhaustive survey of this problem by the Southeastern Regional Planning Commission, in its study *The Southeast* concluded:

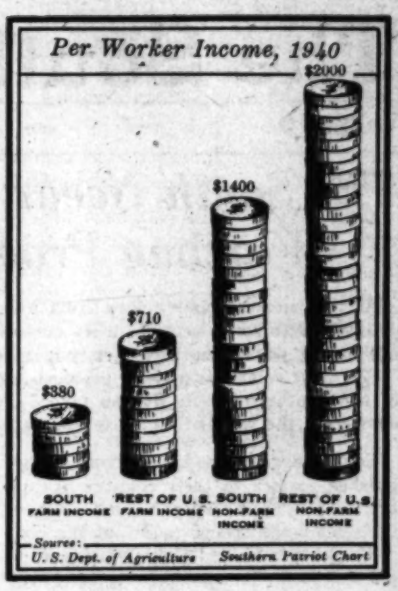
Good diet is dependent largely on income available for purchasing food. . . Farm operators as a whole in the Southeast have poorer diets than do those in the North and West. . . . About one-half the Negro farm families of the Southeast have poor diets.

What About Housing?

The chart at the bottom of the page indicates that it is rare for any Southern farmer to have running water, a flush toilet, a bathtub, or electric lights in his home. In the case of a tenant farmer or sharecropper, it is almost unknown.

The story of rural housing in the South is the story of many thousands of families living in unpainted, dilapidated shacks, with cracks in the walls, roof and floor. In some areas the windows are without glass; solid wooden shutters are closed to keep out rain or wind.

Water comes from a shallow, often polluted well or is carried from the nearest branch. About one seventh of the families are without privies. Large families live in two and three rooms.



The Census Says It's So

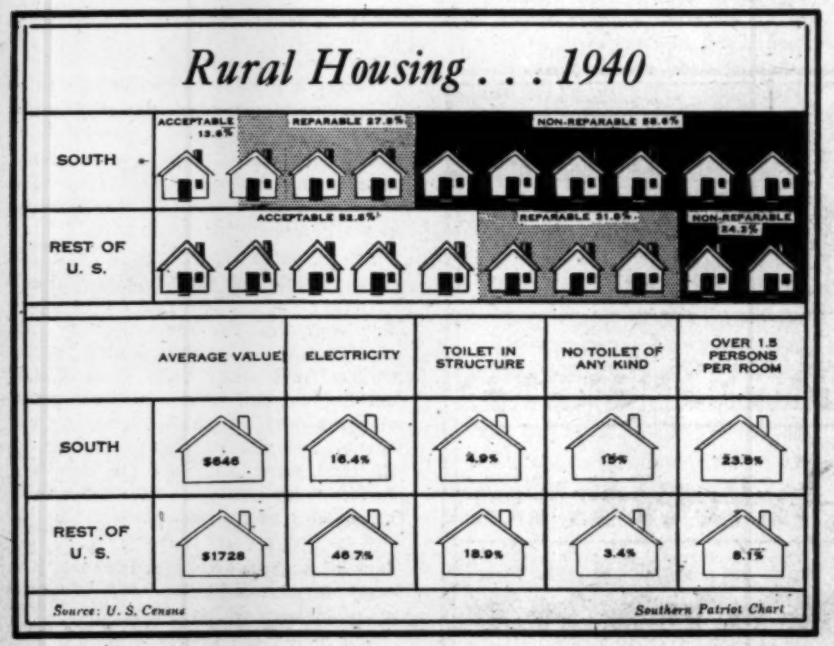
This picture is based on figures right out of the U. S. Census and is a direct result of the low income of the Southern farmer. Thus, in the South, the average money spent for repairs of farm housing range from $2 to $12 annually.

These are 1940 figures. They largely hold today. The U. S. Housing Act of 1937 did not provide adequately for rural areas. The states were slow to enact enabling legislation so that rural areas could join the program. Cities have built over 100,000 housing units since 1937 but the first farm houses were delayed until 1940. Only 515 have been erected under this program. Due to the great need, all except 9 were in the South.

Few Schools, Fewer Hospitals

The Farm Security Administration housing program was more extensive, but still has hardly scratched the surface of the problem.

Add to this picture of life on the Southern farm the poor health among the rural people, the lack of doctors and hospitals; the poor educational facilities and high illiteracy; and it becomes clear why the attention of the whole South must be directed to the solution of the farm problem.



The Farms . . .

We have looked at the farmer—now let us look at his farm, to try to understand why Southern farmers are so poor.

COTTON

Southern farms are overwhelmingly cotton and tobacco farms. These two crops now provide ⅔ of the cash income of Southern farms.

	South produced	*Rest of U. S. produced*
Cotton	89.8%	10.2%
Tobacco	79.5	20.5
Corn	21.0	79.0
Oats	9.1	90.9
Milk	18.9	81.1
Cattle and calves	29.6	70.4
Cows—for milk	25.7	74.3
Hogs	31.6	68.4
Sheep	27.2	72.8

This means, in effect, that four fifths of all that Southern farmers eat and wear must be purchased from outside the South.

TENANT SYSTEM

Forty-nine per cent of Southern farmers do not own the land they till; they are the tenant farmers. Another seven per cent rent part of their land. Sharecroppers, who pay the rent on their land with a share of the crop they produce, make up 38% of the South's tenant farmers.

The tenant system has tended to perpetuate one-crop farming in the South, since landowners prefer to have virtually all the land put in cotton, from which they can more easily get their money.

Another result of the tenant system is instability of our farm population. More than a third of the tenants move every year. Less than 2 per cent have written leases which give them security of tenure for more than a year.

The tenant, therefore, has no incentive to protect the soil, plant cover crops or keep buildings in repair. On the contrary, he has every reason to mine the soil for every possible penny of immediate cash return.

Further, the tenant system works a particular hardship on the uneducated and illiterate farmer. The landlord keeps all the accounts, usually advances the tenant food and necessary merchandise, and the cropper often finds himself at harvest time, after a year's labor, not only with no cash income, but in debt to the landlord. Thus thousands of tenants, Negro and white, go more and more into debt, year after year, with little hope for the future.

SOIL

Not only the farmer, but the soil, suffers from the dominance of cotton and the tenant system.

Cotton, tobacco and corn use up the natural richness of the land with great speed. Fields planted to them year after year wash out and wash away much more quickly than fields on which legumes are planted in rotation with cash crops. Yet six acres of Southern cropland out of ten are planted one season after another in cotton, tobacco and corn.

As a result, 61% of the nation's badly eroded land is in the South—an expanse of land as large as South Carolina, gullied and washed away. Twenty-two million acres have been ruined beyond repair, and an area as large as Oklahoma and Alabama has been severely damaged.

Tons of Fertilizer

To keep the land producing at all, Southern farmers use huge amounts of fertilizer. In the seven Southeastern states alone, in 1939, the amount expended for fertilizer ($99,089,478) exceeded the total cash wages paid in agriculture ($91,210,582)!

Yet the supreme irony of preaching the disastrous consequences of the present land cultivation practices is that the poor Southern farmers cannot afford the expense of soil conservation. Most Southern farms are so small the farmer is forced to use every foot of the land for the devastating cash crops—merely to survive.

SIZE OF FARMS

The size of Southern farms averages only about half that of farms outside the South, according to the 1940 census.

	South Per farm	*Rest of U. S. Per farm*
Acres in farms	124.7	217.4
Acres available for crops	57.4	113.0
Cropland harvested (acres)	34.9	68.4

BACKWARD METHODS

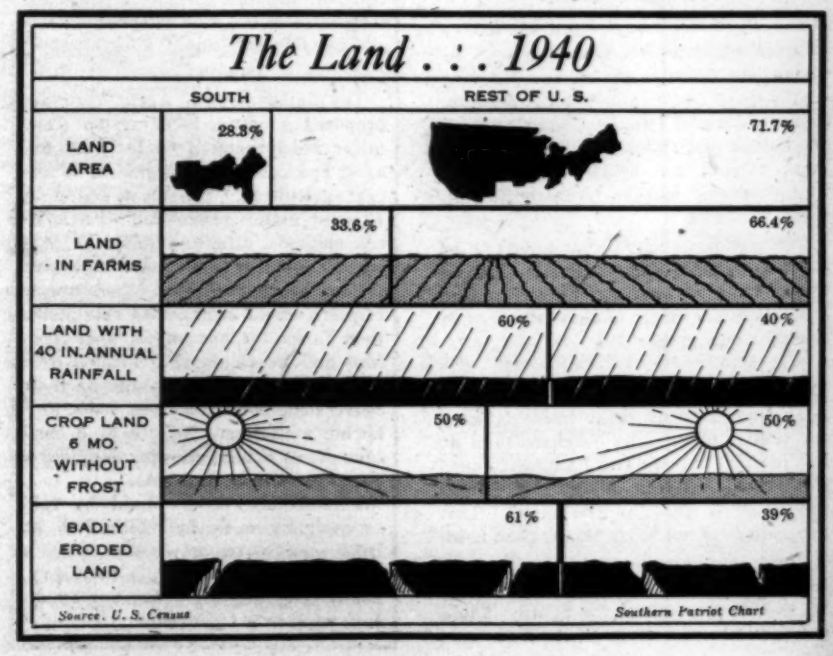
The backward methods used by Southern farmers also keep them poor. For example, though the South has one-half of the nation's farmers, it has only one-fifth of the nation's farm implements.

In the South, 10% of the farmers own trucks, 33% cars; in the rest of the country, 20% own trucks, and 66% cars. One-third of Southern farms adjoin unimproved roads; only half that percentage of non-Southern farms have this handicap.

The farmer outside the South has another advantage, we hope temporary. He has learned the value of cooperatives. In 1939, 23% of United States farm operators did business thru cooperatives, compared to only 10% of Southern farmers.

THE ISSUE: DEMOCRACY

All these factors—one-crop farming, the tenant system, the small farms, the used up and eroded soil, the backward methods—are results, and in some cases, hangovers of the old plantation-slave-system of the South. This system, unprofitable for the South at best, was defeated in war, but never completely wiped out. The big planters lost the civil war but won a compromise peace, and a democratic system of land ownership—symbolized by forty acres and a mule for every Southern farmer, Negro and white—has not to this day been completely substituted for the old plantation system.



The Answers . . .

Our goal is the family-owned and operated farm.

The family-size farm means that:

1) The farm operator and family have active control over their farm resources and their farming operations, with tenure secure enough so land will be conserved and buildings kept in repair.

2) The farm is big enough to permit efficient operation and provide a decent standard of living, and small enough so the family can do the work without hiring help.

Independent Farmer or Hired Hand?

The United States Chamber of Commerce and other friends and representatives of rich landlord interests oppose the goal of the family-size farm. They call instead upon banks and businessmen to form corporations to buy up farms and hire people to run them. They would reduce farmers to hired hands, reaping the profits for big business.

A government program with the development of the family-size farm as its aim, on the other hand, would call for the purchase of large units of land, their division into economically-sized farm units, and their resale at long-time, low interest rates, at a price based on the longtime earning power of the land.

This is an American program, a democratic program, and alone can guarantee the living standard of the Southern farmer will be raised. These are the reforms which must become law:

DIVERSIFICATION

The Southern farmer can no longer rely on cotton as his sole source of income. He must carry on the progress of the past few years, adding peanuts, soybeans, sweet potatoes, oats, wheat, vegetables and fruits to his crops. He must expand his livestock production. The Southern market is ready to buy these products.

The cotton reconversion program of the Department of Agriculture, outlined under "Threat to King Cotton" offers a method for such a change-over. It deserves our support.

CREDIT

The government must make it easy for tenant farmers to purchase land at low interest rates. The Bankhead-Jones Act, now in effect, allows only 7,000 purchases a year at the most. This program does not begin to meet the need.

There must also be easier credit terms for farm owners. Interest rates range up to 40% throughout the South. These exhorbitant rates must be lowered.

CO-OPS

Southern farmers can work out cooperate means for sharing farm machinery. The family-size farmer cannot afford a tractor or cotton picking machine. But producer cooperatives, which own and rent farm implements, under government or union sponsorship, offer a practical method for efficient, modern farming operations.

Threat to King Cotton

More than half the farmers of the South depend on cotton alone. Their future is seriously threatened by these developments:

1) **The cotton picker machine, tested and ready for postwar production, each of which does the work of 35 to 50 hand pickers, efficiently and cheaply.**
2) **The serious competition of rayon and other cotton substitutes highly developed during the war.**
3) **The competition of cotton produced abroad, far cheaper on the world market than Southern cotton.**

The position of the cotton grower has long been shaky. More cotton has been grown than could be used or sold profitably, even during the war. The government assumed the burden, paying far higher prices to farmers for their cotton than the law of supply and demand would bring. But this subsidy program, which means government accumulation of larger and larger unused cotton surpluses, cannot feasibly continue.

What Then?

The Department of Agriculture has proposed a cotton reconversion plan, under which farmers would be encouraged and aided to reorganize Southern agriculture. On farms suited to efficient cotton production with modern methods, attention would be centered on larger and more intensive cotton production. In other areas, farmers would be aided to reorganize their farms for less cotton, more food, feed and livestock. Payments would be made to these farmers during their conversion, conditioned on their following a pattern set forth by a local committee, using technical assistance, found to be most desirable.

Meanwhile, cotton would be sold at competitive world prices both at home and for export; cotton incomes would be supported while necessary, not by pegging the price, but by direct payments to farmers.

SOIL

If a diversification and land ownership program is put into effect, the improvement of soil conservation practices can easily follow. The work of the Soil Conservation Service must be supported and expanded.

FARMERS DISPLACED BY COTTON PICKER

Such a program would help solve the problem of the tens of thousands of farmers destined to be displaced by the inevitable mechanization of cotton production. It would offer them the opportunity to buy land of their own, and shift from cotton production to other farming and forestry operations. But further steps must be taken to protect these farmers:

1. **Adult education and training for other jobs.**
2. **Experimentation on a local, state and federal level for new agricultural and industrial possibilities in the South.**
3. **Aid for the unionization of the machine operators.**
4. **Equalization of health and medical facilities on a national level.**

TENANCY IMPROVEMENTS

In spite of programs encouraging land ownership, there will undoubtedly remain a large group of tenant farmers in the South, and plans must be worked out to improve the working of the tenant system itself. For example, written leases should be encouraged, a legal status for sharecroppers worked out, and arbitration committees set up to decide issues between tenants and landlords.

TAXES

Excessive and inequitable taxes, especially on smaller farms, have contributed to insecurity for small farmers, and forced many into tenancy. Tax assessments should be equalized for all types of farms; there should be a graduated land tax and a progressively increasing rate on larger than family-size farms, and family-size farms should be exempt from taxes, to stabilize home ownership.

This farm program, together with extension of the existing programs for rural housing, rural electrification and social security should do much to guarantee a new future for Southern farmers, as well as prosperity for the whole South.

Full Employment—Essential to Southern Farmers

The first essential for Southern prosperity is prosperity for the nation as a whole. And that means full employment—in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, "the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation" for every citizen wishing to work.

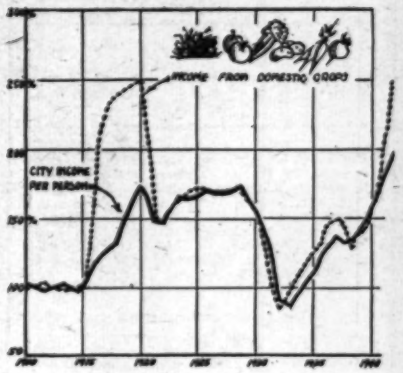
Southern farmers have everything to gain in an economy of full employment, and they stand to suffer tragically from failure to win such an economy.

First, full employment would mean a market for the products of Southern farmers. It has been repeatedly proved that farm income always rises along with city income—but that when city income begins to drop, farm income always drops faster and more disastrously. (See the chart to the right.)

A study by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics shows that full employment would provide a market for far more food at higher prices than the 1935-39 levels, the highest prices in peacetime history. The study shows that there would be a demand for 65% more pork, 31% more fruit and vegetables, 29% more corn, 16% more lamb, 63% more poultry, 30% more eggs, and 29½% more veal.

If, on the other hand, we fall short of full employment, and permit a situation in which some 7 million people are unemployed, the cash income of farmers could be expected to fall 25 to 30% short of the level possible with full employment. If we should have the same proportion of unemployment as in 1932, and 17,000,000 persons are out of work, the income of all farmers would drop to about one-third of its war time level. This could only be catastrophic in its effects. The South would probably suffer first and most severely, since a large proportion of its farmers barely survive and could not withstand the shock of sudden decline in income.

The "sixty million jobs" program would also bring to Southern farmers a program of rural public works. The Full Employment Bill envisages a broad program of public works, and these would surely include expansion of the rural electrification program, housing construction on a very broad scale, road building so badly needed to aid marketing of farm products, construction of hospitals, schools, and community centers. This would be of unlimited benefit to Southern farm families.



In the South, full employment would mean the development of more Southern industry, scattered in every state, ready to process farm products, ready to employ surplus farm labor and displaced workers. The development of new industry in the South, of a more balanced Southern economy, leaning not so heavily on agriculture, is of key importance to the prosperity of Southern farming.

Thus, it is clear that securing full employment is the number one job before the nation, and especially the rural South. But how can full employment be won?

Only through POLITICAL ACTION.

That means organization of farmers, and cooperation with labor unions, behind specific legislation.

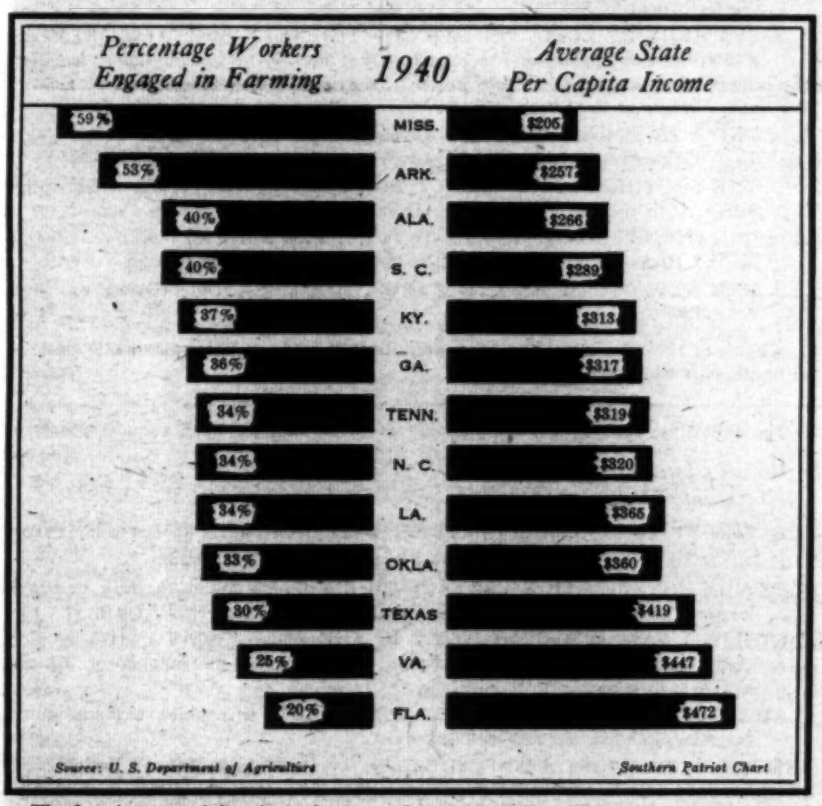
Farmers are rapidly learning that organization is the first step toward a solution of their problems, that it makes their voice heard in Washington, where their future is decided.

The Farmers Union, most powerful organization representing the true interests of the small farmer, is battling today in the Capitol for the farm program we have set forth, and for full employment.

Labor is also fighting these battles, and the Farmers Union and labor are working together for their mutual interest.

First on their order of business is the passage of the Full Employment Bill, S-380, which sets up machinery for guaranteeing 60 million jobs. Hearings are now being held on this bill. The voice of the people must be heard in Washington before this vital measure will be made into law.

Labor and farm groups are also working together for adoption of specific programs for health (Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill), and housing (Wagner Housing Bill) to take up any slack in national employment levels.



The low income of Southern farmers plus the unbalanced Southern economy with its overemphasis on agriculture, pulls down the living standards of all Southerners. Note that those states which have more industry—Florida, Virginia and Texas—have proportionately higher incomes.

The Southern PATRIOT

AUGUST 1945

VOLUME 3 NUMBER 8

Published monthly by The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 506-507 Presbyterian Building, Nashville, Tennessee. Ten cents a copy, $1.00 a year. Twenty or more copies mailed to the same address, 25c a year. Entered as second class mail matter, November 20, 1942, at the Postoffice, Nashville, Tennessee, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

☆

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

CLARK FOREMAN
President

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI
Executive Secretary and Editor

Useful Reading

Available from the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

What Peace Can Mean to American Farmers, Post War Agriculture and Employment, what will happen to farmers under full employment, or unemployment.

Post-War Problems of Cotton, a statement by Claude Wickard before the House Committee on Agriculture.

Agricultural and Industrial Opportunities for the South, by Mordecai Ezekiel, an address before the Southern Regional Council.

Statements from the Department of Agriculture Interbureau Committee on Postwar Programs, submitted to the House Committee on Economic Policies and Planning.

Basic Reports

Regional Planning, The Southeast, prepared by the Southeast Regional Planning Commission.

Report on the Economic Condition of the South, prepared for the President by the National Emergency Council.

Periodicals

National Union Farmer, semi-monthly newspaper of the Farmers Union, 3501 East 46th Avenue, Denver 16, Colorado.

Spade Under the Surface in Washington, a semi-monthly newsletter from Washington on agricultural developments. 215 Kellogg Bldg., Washington 4, D. C.

Facts for Farmers, a monthly review of farm news and views, published by Farm Research, 39 Cortlandt Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Southern Conference For Human Welfare
507 Presbyterian Building, Nashville, Tennessee

Please send me the material I have checked.

_____Please enroll me as a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare ($2).

_____Please enter my subscription to the SOUTHERN PATRIOT ($1).

I enclose $_____ to cover cost.

Name _____

Address _____

City, Zone, State _____

_____FOR YOUR CHILDREN, TOO, a pamphlet about labor unions, their aims and work, in terms of what they have done for children. LABOR, official publication of the Railway Brotherhoods, described it as "one of the best pamphlets to have crossed this editor's desk on the ideals and objectives of trade unionism." 43 pp. 10c per copy, $7.50 per hundred, $50 per thousand.

_____VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN THE THIRTEEN SOUTHERN STATES, an invaluable source of information, prepared by the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South. 24 pp. *Free.*

_____REVOLUTION DOWN SOUTH, Georgia Governor Ellis Arnall's excellent article, reprinted from *Colliers.* 4 pp. *$1 per hundred, $8 per thousand.*

_____FASCISM, a reprint of the War Department's Fact Sheet 64, the best short discussion of the subject, "How to spot it" and "How to stop it." 8 pp. *Free.*

_____SAVIOR FROM TEXAS, an expose of the Christian Americans, by Walter Davenport. Reprinted from *Colliers.* 4 pp. *$1 per hundred, $8 per thousand.*

_____A NEW CHAPTER ABOUT THE ATOMIC BOMB, a gem from Ralph McGill on intolerance, reprinted from the Atlanta *Constitution.* 1 page. *Free.*

_____ANTI-SEMITISM IS ANTI-CHRISTIAN, by Raimundo de Ovies, Dean of the Cathedral of St. Philip, Atlanta, Ga. 4 pp. *Free.*

_____SUMMARY OF ELECTION LAWS OF THIRTEEN SOUTHERN STATES, a detailed compilation of the constitutional and statutory provisions regulating voting in each Southern state. Prepared by the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South. 65 pp. *Free.*

_____THE 99TH SQUADRON, a Hop Harrigan comic strip, dedicated to the Negro fliers in the Army Air Force. 8 pp. *Free.*

_____THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE, a descriptive folder, with membership coupon. *Free.*

_____QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT A PERMANENT FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION, by Hon. Mary Norton. 8 pp. *Free.*

_____THE NEW SOUTH ON THE MARCH, by James A. Dombrowski, reprinted from *The Nation.* 4 pp. *Free.*

Copies of the "Good Health" issue and "Industry and Full Employment" issue of the Southern Patriot are still available.

The following material on the poll tax is available free upon request from the

National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax
127 B Street, SE, Washington, D. C.

OUR MEN FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO VOTE, vivid anti-poll tax color poster.

THE POLL TAX, A THREAT TO ALL, by Dr. Frank P. Graham.

DOES THE CONSTITUTION PROTECT THIS MAN? a folder showing in simple language that HR 7, the Federal Anti-poll tax bill, is constitutional.

A WOMAN'S FAIR QUESION: WHAT IS THE POLL TAX TO ME? by Hon. Helen Gahagan Douglas of California, explaining the importance of poll tax abolition to women.

FARMERS FEED THE ARMIES OF DEMOCRACY, a booklet explaining the farmers' stake in the anti-poll tax fight.

THE POLL TAX CROSSES RACIAL LINES, by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune.

LABOR'S STAKE IN ABOLISHING THE POLL TAX, 4 page illustrated folder.

THE POLL TAX REPEALER, newspaper published twice a month. Keeps you up to date on WHAT YOU CAN DO to help abolish the poll tax.

ANTI POLL TAX BLOC BUSTER, an envelope containing one of each piece of available anti- poll tax literature, except color poster.

Eastlands and Bilbos Don't Speak For South, Say Southern Editors

Southern editors are overwhelmingly opposed to the recent expressions of racial prejudice in Congress and feel such statements do not represent the true feeling of the South, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare disclosed in revealing the results of a poll of 251 white newspaper editors in the thirteen Southern states.

Hazard To War Effort

Eighty-seven and one-half percent of the editors polled agree that Mississippi's Senator Eastland was not speaking for Southern editors when he stated that Negro soldiers had been an "utter and abysmal failure." Eighty-three per cent (83%) of the editors think that this statement by Senator Eastland was a hazard to the war effort.

Senator Eastland's statement, made on the floor of the United States Senate June 29 during the course of a filibuster against the Fair Employment Practices Committee was: "The Negro soldier was an utter and abysmal failure in combat in Europe . . . He has disgraced the flag of his country. He will not fight. He will not work."

Of the 255 questionnaires and letters received, 23 (8%) showed some agreement with Senator Eastland; 219 (86%) disagreed; and 13 (6%) were neutral.

Documentary Evidence

In announcing the poll Dr. Clark Foreman, President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, stated that, "In my opinion, this is one of the most encouraging signs that the people of the South are becoming increasingly aware of the dangerous and unfounded sentiments of such men as Senators Eastland and Bilbo and Congressman John Rankin. For the first time, we have documentary evidence that these demagogues belong to a dead order, and represent no one but themselves and a handful of reactionaries who feed on their patronage."

Opinion Poll Results:

The questions asked in the poll and the editors' replies follow:

I believe Senator Eastland's statement on Negro servicemen is a hazard to the nation's war effort.

Yes 83%—No 12%—Ucertain 5%

I believe Senator Eastland's statement on Negro servicemen is beneficial to the war effort.

Yes 5%—No 93%—Uncertain 2%

I believe Senator Eastland's view on this matter reflects the prevailing opinion of the Southern people.

Yes 10%—No 75½%—Uncertain 14½%

I believe Senator Eastland's view on this matter reflects the prevailing opinion of Southern editors.

Yes 7½%—No 87½%—Uncertain 5%

State by State

Broken down by Southern states, the replies were:

Do you believe Senator Eastland's statement on Negro servicemen is a hazard to the nation's war effort?

	Yes	*No*	*Uncertain*
Alabama	12	1	1
Arkansas	11	1	0
Florida	13	1	3
Georgia	12	1	1
Kentucky	8	1	0
Louisiana	6	3	0
Mississippi	6	3	0
North Carolina	22	3	1
Oklahoma	25	5	1
South Carolina	6	0	1
Tennessee	12	3	1
Texas	35	5	2
Virginia	18	0	1

Do you believe Senator Eastland's view on this matter reflects the prevailing opinion of Southern editors?

	Yes	*No*	*Uncertain*
Alabama	0	11	3
Arkansas	0	11	0
Florida	1	12	1
Georgia	1	16	0
Kentucky	0	4	0
Louisiana	1	4	2
Mississippi	6	6	0
North Carolina	0	24	2
Oklahoma	2	24	0
South Carolina	0	7	0
Tennessee	3	17	1
Texas	4	36	1
Virginia	0	18	1

Editorials condemning Senator Eastland's attack on the Negro GIs, are appearing all over the South. Last month, the PATRIOT printed four of them, from the *Delta Democrat Times*, Greenville, Miss.; the Macon, Ga. *News*, The Louisville, Ky. *Courier-Journal*, and the Richmond, Va. *Times Dispatch*. We reprint here excerpts from several more:

Montgomery, Alabama, "Advertiser"

One would think that the fair name of Dixie, with all her Bilbos, O'Daniels, Coxes and Rankins in the United States Congress, already has more than enough of shame and reproach to bear without having another Southern congressman join their company. Surely it is an unkind providence that thus saddles us with a disproportionate number of mentally perverted representatives in the highest legislative body of men in the nation . . .

Daytona Beach, Florida, "Evening News"

. . But the spontaneous burst of indignation which Eastland's vicious words inspired in the editorial columns of leading Southern newspapers . . indicates the South is getting sick and tired of being held responsible for the fanatic ravings of Senators and Representatives who play on race prejudice to get themselves elected in states where it is only necessary to pay the poll taxes of enough stirred-up illiterates to win at the polls. . .

Chattanooga, Tennessee, "Times"

Senator Bilbo ought to shut up and sit down. And Senator Eastland who made an explosive, hatred-breeding speech while substituting for Senator Bilbo yesterday ought also to keep his seat.

Roanoke, Virginia, "Times"

The record made by Negro troops in this war does not support Senator Eastland's remarks and has nothing whatever to do with the FEPC. The Senator wandered far afield to demonstrate his race prejudice and the representative white people of the South neither share his sentiments nor support his conclusions.

Augusta, Georgia, "Chronicle"

The Senator has not undertaken to prove this statement, and in the absence of proof no one will believe it; but they will believe that he has fallen into the ways of the demagogue and the rabble-rouser, and because of this his arguments will not carry any weight with thoughtful people.